

1919
N28

THE IDEA OF COSMOPOLITANISM IN EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY LETTERS

BY

CATHERINE NEEDHAM
A. B. University of Illinois, 1918

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1919

1213
1148

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

June 14 1919

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Catherine Needham

ENTITLED The Idea of Cosmopolitanism in Eighteenth
Century Letters

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts

Stuart P. Sherman
In Charge of Thesis

Stuart P. Sherman
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in*

Committee

on

Final Examination*

*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE IDEA OF COSMOPOLITANISM IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LETTERS

Introduction.....	1 - 3
I. Origin of the term cosmopolite - English the only language in which it was commonly used during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries - Its disappearance from common use in England during the eighteenth century - Its appearance in French and German dictionaries during the second half of the eighteenth century, and in Spanish and Italian early in the nineteenth - Reappearance in England at the close of the eighteenth century - Later history of the term - Conclusion: increased use of term at the close of the eighteenth century indicative of a distinct cosmopolitan movement during that period	3 - 12
II. Distinguishing marks of the cosmopolitan spirit - Cosmopolitanism not an expansion in a direct line but in a cycle from nationalism to individualism to cosmopolitanism to nationalism - This cycle illustrated in Rousseau's development - The cosmopolitan cycle in the rationalistic movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries - The individualistic revolt and the new cosmopolitan expansion of the second half of the century the result of two philosophical movements: (1) The empirical or romantic emphasis upon individual and national differences; (2) The problem of the individual and society - Contrast between rationalistic or classical cosmopolitanism as compared with the new empirical or romantic cosmopolitanism - The former continued as the basis of the movement in political cosmopolitanism; the latter, the basis of the new literary cosmopolitanism.....	12 - 20
III. Literary cosmopolitanism defined - The movement toward literary cosmopolitanism in France contrasted with the English and German movements: identification of the movement in France with "exotisme" (Texte); in England and Germany with	

nationalism - This difference due to the overthrow of the French literary hegemony by nationalistic movements as the first step toward romantic cosmopolitanism - The significant features of the movement in England and Germany, the new relations with literatures other than the French.....	20 - 23
--	---------

IV. Attitude of the romantic cosmopolitans in England toward the literatures of Southern Europe - The new interest in Scandinavian literature during the second half of the century - The German movement in the last decade - The oriental movement of the early years of the century contrasted with that of the romantic period	23 - 35
--	---------

V. <u>Burke's Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime</u> , 1756, as illustrative of the two philosophical movements underlying eighteenth century cosmopolitanism - <u>Hurd's Discourse on Poetic Imitation</u> , 1755-57, as exemplifying the contrasting tendencies of classical and of romantic cosmopolitanism - <u>Warton's Observations on the Fairy Queen</u> , 1754, and <u>Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance</u> , 1762, as embodying the central tenets of literary cosmopolitanism - <u>Goldsmith's Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe</u> as a study in comparative literature from a distinctly cosmopolitan view point - Conclusion	36 - 43
---	---------

Appendix A. An Outline of Supplementary Topics	44.
--	-----

Appendix B. Bibliography

I. Dictionaries and Lexicons	45 - 46
II. Chronological list of works of importance in the cosmopolitan movement	47 - 48
III. General References	48 - 50



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2013

<http://archive.org/details/ideaofcosmopolit00need>

THE IDEA OF COSMOPOLITANISM
IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LETTERS

The cosmopolitan idea is not one which is peculiar to any age or to any people; it is not only one of the most ancient, but (if I may say so) one of the most cosmopolitan of ideas. Philosophers and poets of all times have claimed kinship with the men of all the world; and an unqualified cosmopolitanism has been the answer of the Church, throughout the ages, to that searching question, Who is my neighbor? But though the cosmopolitan spirit has at no time been altogether lacking, it has had, like other movements in human thought, its big periods of quiescence and expansion. Three such periods of expansion have made themselves felt in modern Europe: the Elizabethan period, the era of the French Revolution, and (some of us are so bold as to maintain) the present day.

Richard Hooker reflected the spirit of his age when he placed cosmopolitanism among the fundamental traits of humanity.

"Civil society," (he says, in speaking of the Law of Nations), "doth more content the nature of man than any private kind of solitary living, because in society this good of mutual participation is so much larger than otherwise. Herewith notwithstanding we are not satisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kind of society and fellowship even with all mankind. Which thing Socrates intending to signify professed himself a citizen, not of this or that commonwealth, but of the world. And an effect of that very natural desire in us (a manifest token that we wish after a sort an universal fellowship with all men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have,



some to visit foreign countries, some to discover nations not heard of in former ages, we all to know the affairs and dealings of other people, yea to be in league of amity with them: and this not only for traffick's sake, or to the end that when many are confederated each may make other the more strong, but for such cause also as moved the Queen of Saba to visit Solomon; and in a word, because nature doth presume that how many men there are in the world, so many gods as it were there are, or at leastwise such they should be towards men."¹

Heine spoke as truly for the spirit prevailing at the close of the eighteenth century when he pronounced it,

"... the grandest and holiest idea ever brought forth in Germany, - the idea of humanitarianism; the idea of the universal brotherhood of mankind, of cosmopolitanism - an idea to which our great minds, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul and all people of culture in Germany have ever paid homage."²

Heine's words might have been echoed as sincerely by a Frenchman or an Englishman in speaking of the same period: by Tom Paine, for instance, that most striking example of revolutionary cosmopolitanism; or by that France which set out to emancipate the people of the world, and ended, alas! by almost destroying, in the hearts of the people about her, the cosmopolitan spirit which she felt it her divine mission to fulfill. But though the misdirected zeal of France and the leather-hearted nationalism which it aroused in Germany and elsewhere checked for a time the flood of cosmopolitanism, it could not stop it utterly in its onward progress. In 1912, the editors of "La Vie Internationale", the organ of the Central Office of International Associations in Brussels, could say with truth that "The development of relations between the peoples of the world is the trait most characteristic of existing civilization."³ The clear-sighted man of to-day has been forced to realize the fact that not only in Brussels but in America,

"One is no longer a member merely of his own village, his province, his country. We must all be influenced, from this time forth, by that larger

¹ Hooker, Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Bk.I, p. 198.

² Heine, Romantic School, p.33.

³ La Vie Internationale, Tome 1^{er}, 1912, Fascicule 1, p.9: "Le développement des relations entre les peuples est le trait le plus caractéristique de la civilisation actuelle."

life which envelops the whole terrestrial globe.

This life, each day more intense, does not repress the life of nations, of cities, of hamlets; it is superimposed upon them, and we feel, all of us, in the most remote nooks of our respective lands, the reverberations of events which take place beyond our frontiers.

This vast phenomenon has become one of ever-growing importance; It is a matter of concern to discover the laws which preside over its evolution and to organize its development. This movement, which has proceeded without apparent order and exposed to the accidents of fortune, ought to become more and more a conscious one."¹

To do something of the sort suggested here, - to discover the laws and to trace the development of the cosmopolitan movement of the eighteenth century, or at least to bring it to the conscious attention of students of human history, - is the purpose of the following pages. In carrying out such a purpose, I have tried, first, to discover whether there really was during the eighteenth century, a marked cosmopolitan movement; secondly, to correlate this movement with the other movements in eighteenth century thought which served as causes or as fostering influences of cosmopolitanism; and, finally, to follow the course of this growing cosmopolitanism in its various aspects, and especially as regards the growth of literary cosmopolitanism in England.²

I

The first of these topics can be answered fully, of course, only after a consideration of the whole subject. But a glance at the history of the term "cosmopolite" will serve to indicate the conspicuous resurgence of a conscious cosmopolitan spirit during the second half of the eighteenth century.

The term "cosmopolite," which has occurred in some form in nearly every

¹La Vie Internationale, Tome 1^{er}, 1912, Fascicule 1, p.5.

²The history of the cosmopolitan movement in social, political and religious fields I have been forced, by the exigencies of time and available information, to omit from the present discussion. A partial outline of these omitted topics will be found in Appendix A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
530 N. Dearborn Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60610-5080
Tel: (773) 837-3000
Fax: (773) 837-0800

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>. We also have a free newsletter that you can subscribe to. Please contact us at info@uchicago.edu for more information.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

For more information on our books and journals, please visit our website at <http://www.uchicago.edu>.

European language, is derived from the Greek κοσμος, order, hence world or universe, and πολιτης, citizen. Socrates is credited by tradition with having called himself κοσμικος, a citizen of the world, a cosmopolitan;¹ and Martial used the word cosmicos in this sense.² But κοσμικος and mundanus, as used in the New Testament and elsewhere, have a quite different meaning. Christian theology has rather preempted, in all European languages, the equivalents of "cosmos" or "world", so that the native terms mundanus, mondano, mondain, Weltmann, Weltjunge, Wereldmann, worldling etc. have all of them the meaning of a man of this world, of the earth earthly; and if a more elevated term is needed, to indicate a man with world-wide interests, the Greek word cosmopolites must be imported. The main exceptions to this rule are two: the English use (for a limited period) of the Greek word cosmopolite to mean a worldling; and the German coining of a native compound Weltburger to replace the foreign term, which, on puristic grounds, they refused to admit into standard use.

Before the second half of the eighteenth century the word cosmopolite, so far as I have been able to discover, was not in general use in any of the modern European languages except English.³ The term was used for a time, as I have indicated, with the sense of "worldling."⁴ But this use of the term was short-lived. The idea of a worldly man was adequately expressed by native synonyms; and in a period following the greatest era of discovery in the world's history, - in a period, too, of merchant-adventurers in strange literatures as well as in strange seas, - Howell, an obscure diplomatic attache, praising God that he could pray in a different language every day, - the term cosmopolite was sorely needed to describe

¹Hooker cites on this point Cicero's Tusculanarum Disputationum libri quinque, (c.37), and Liber I De Legibus, (c.12).

²Martial, 7, 41, 1.

³Texte (p.320 note 2) says that the form cosmopolitain was found in the sixteenth century; and that in 1605 a Swiss writer published in Berne the Comedy of the Cosmopolite. The use of the term so early as this, however was extremely rare.

⁴In 1614 T. Adams, in his Devil's Banquet, speaks of "The vanitie of carnall joyes, the vanitie of vanities, are as bitter to us, as pleasant to the Cosmopolite or worldling." And in God's Plea, by Reeve, in 1657. the word is used in the same sense: "The Devill hath an Incorporation of Cosmopolites, an Host of Lucre worms."

the traveler, the citizen of the world, the man who regarded the whole globe as his domicile. In Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598, is found a passage, in which the Greek form of the word, cosmopolites, would indicate that this is among the earliest, if not the very first, instance of the use of the term in English.

"To find himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen . . of the . . one mysticall citie universall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopolitan government thereof."¹

Twenty years later we find the word used not in romantic narrative but in a serious preface to an edition of Latin historians. Edmund Bolton, in Hypercritica (about 1618) in urging the production of a good English history which shall rest on a world-wide and impartial knowledge, and not on partisan prejudice, reminds his reader:

"Thou standest charged with four-fold Duty.

1. As a Christian Cosmopolite.
2. As a Christian Patriot.
3. As a Christian Subject.
4. As a Christian Paterfamilias."²

There is as yet, clearly, no sign of that invidious distinction between "patriotism" and cosmopolitanism" which caused so much bitterness in the later use of the term. James Howell, in his Vote presented to the King himself in 1641, sees nothing unloyal in his cosmopolitan philosophy:

"And by these various wanderings, true I found,
Earth is our common Mother, every ground
May be one's country, for by birth each man
Is in this world a cosmopolitan,
A free-born burgess, and receives thereby
His denization from nativity."³

A similar thought is expressed in one of his Letters (1645):

"I came tumbling out into the world a pure Cadet, a true Cosmopolite, not born to Land, Lease, House or Office."⁴

¹This passage, and the following citations, are given in the Oxford Dictionary under cosmopolite. I have been unable to locate this passage in the editions of Hakluyt available for my use.

²Haslewood, A. C., Crit. Ess., Sec. VII, p.253.

³Howell, Letters, ed. 1907, p. xxviii.

⁴Ibid, ed. 1645, p.90.

A passage in W. Rumsey's Organ. Sal. (1657),-

"He who finds out anything conducing to humane health, is the best cosmopolite." -

points with equal clearness to the repute in which the term was held, as indicating a standard of virtue.

But after half a century of common use in England, the term cosmopolite suffered an almost total eclipse for a hundred and fifty years, until re-introduced from the continent at the close of the eighteenth century. Johnson includes the words cosmopolitanism and cosmopolite in his Dictionary, 1755, but with no citation of author; and the word was replaced generally in eighteenth century literature by such expressions as "citizen of the world." Although a decreased use of the term does not necessarily imply a diminution of the spirit it signified, its reappearance just at the time when it was first being extensively used in France and Germany must be attributed to something more significant than a mere change in linguistic fashions.

Just how early the term cosmopolite came into use on the continent it is impossible to say with any degree of exactness. France was the first to recognize the word and to admit it to standard dictionaries. As early as 1750¹ a Dictionnaire Etymologique refers to the word "cosmopolitain" as one in colloquial use:

"One uses this word to signify a man who has no fixed abode, or a man who is at home anywhere."²

The story of the "ancien philosophe" is cited, (probably a reference to Socrates); and mention is made also of an anonymous treatise on chemistry signed with the name "Cosmopolite." The Dictionary of the Academy is of course more conservative: the

¹ Texte, I find, has discovered the word cosmopolite in the Dictionary of Trévoux, 1721. (J.J. Rousseau, p.320, note 2.)

² "Cosmopolitain. On dit quelquefois ce mot en badinant, pour signifier un homme qui n'a point de demeure fixe, ou bien un homme qui nulle part n'est étranger. (Gr. monde, polis, ville) et il signifie un homme dont tout le monde est la ville ou la patrie. Un ancien Philosophe étant interrogé d'où il était, répondit qu'il étoit cosmopolitain. L'auteur inconnu d'un excellent traité de chymie, intitulé Lumen Chymicum, s'est donné le nom de Cosmopolite."

The first occurrence of either term which I have been able to find is in a work by Johann Bernhard Basedow, Leipzig, 1775, entitled: Für Cosmopoliten etwas zu lesen, zu denken und zu thun. In Ausehung eines in Anhalt-Dessau errichteten Philanthropius etc.¹ The term appears later in a Berlin magazine article by Kant, in 1783, dealing with a scheme for a cosmopolitical federation.² The German compound Weltbürger was not coined, probably, until toward the close of the century. I find it first listed in Schellers' Lateinisch-deutsches Hand-lexicon, 1796, with the Latin synonyms mundanus, civis mundi. A familiarity with the foreign term upon which the new word was patterned may be inferred from the fact that in Adelung's four-volume dictionary, although the Kosmopolit is excluded from the list of words to be defined, it occurs in the definition of Weltbürger as a popular synonym.³ Campe, in his scholarly lexicon of 1807-1811 treats the terms in a similar fashion;⁴ but in his abridged edition of 1808 both the foreign and native words are listed in their regular alphabetical order.⁵

usité de cosmopolite. Cosmopolite: Personne qui se considère comme citoyen du monde entier, qui ne limite pas son action dans les bornes de la patrie. "Zenophon juge les hommes avec l'impartialité d'un cosmopolite". Par extension, celui qui vit tantôt dans un pays tantôt dans un autre; qui adopte facilement les usages des divers pays."

¹Catalogue of the British Museum.

²See Mo. Rev., v.XXVI, p.561.

³1793-1801 Adelung, Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch etc., Leipzig, v.4, 1801, der Weltbürger, des -es, - der Mensch, als ein Bürger- oder freier Einwohner der Welt, d.i. des Grobodens, betrachtet; der Kosmopolit, nach dem Griechischen.

⁴Wörterbuch, v.4, 1811, - der Weltbürger: der Mensch, als ein Bürger oder freier Einwohner der Welt, d.i., der Erde, der Mensch, als Glied einer einzigen über die ganze Erde verbreiteten bürgerlichen Gesellschaft der all Menschen als Glieder derselben Gesellschaft, als Mitbürger betrachtet und behandelt. (Cosmopolit) Weltbürgerlich, adj. (cosmopolitisch) Weltbürgern (cosmopolitisiren v.intr. mit haben, u. intr. Weltbürger sein, etc.; die Weltbürgerschaft, (cosmopolitismus)."
 [Q: New word of doubtful and not yet established worth.
 [G: New word, but used by good writers and worthy philologists.]

⁵Cosmopolit, der Weltbürger - Cosmopolitismus, der Weltbürgerinn, die gesagt: 'Die Philosophen mit ihrer Alleweltsbürgerschaft ...

Cosmopolitisch, weltbürgerlich cosmopolitisch eitisiren, den Weltbürger er maken. 'Sollte man nicht auch Weltbürgern dafür sagen können? Er setzte sich auf sein Steckenpferd, und weltbürgerte, dass es eine Lust war, ihn auszuhören'."

term is not admitted until the 1762 edition, and then the reference to it is brief.

"Cosmopolite: Celui qui n'adopte point de patrie. Un Cosmopolite n'est pas un bon citoyen."

That is all: no further discussion of the derivation or history of the word; no reference to authors who have used it.

By 1813 the word is in better repute among the academicians: the same definition is given, in the fifth edition, but the condemnatory quotation is replaced by the milder one,

"A cosmopolite regards the universe as his country."¹

In the following edition of the dictionary, in 1835, a distinction is drawn between the superficial and the philosophic significance of the term cosmopolite.

(1) "It is used of one who has for all countries the same affection as for his own, who is interested in all men equally."

(2) "It is used also, familiarly, of one who travels about through different countries, without ever having any fixed abode, or who lends himself easily to the usages and customs of the country in which he finds himself."²

From this time on, the use of the word in France remained practically the same.³

The German words Kosmopolit and Weltburger were considerably later in making their appearance than were the French terms; but the delay was due not so much to slowness in the growth of cosmopolitan sentiment in Germany, as to the conservatism of the lexicon makers with regard to foreign and to newly coined words.

¹"Cosmopolite, citoyen du monde. Il se dit de Celui qui n'adopte point de patrie. Un cosmopolite regarde l'univers comme sa patrie."

²"6^e ed., 1835, "Citoyen du monde. Il se dit de Celui qui a pour tous les pays la même affection que pour sa patrie, qui s'intéresse à tous les hommes également. Un cosmopolite regarde l'univers comme sa patrie."

Il se dit aussi, familièrement, de Celui qui parcourt tous les pays sans jamais avoir de demeure fixe, ou qui se prête aisément aux usages, aux mœurs, des pays où il se trouve."

³Littre-1885- "Cosmopolite: (1) Celui qui se considère comme citoyen de l'univers. (A. Rousseau) (2) Par extension, celui qui vit tantôt dans un pays tantôt dans un autre; qui adopte facilement les usages des divers pays..... Cosmopolitisme: disposition d'esprit qui fait qu'on trouve une patrie aussi bien ailleurs, que dans son propre pays.... Disposition opposée à l'esprit de patriotisme exclusif.

Nouveau Larousse (no date)- "Cosmopolitain, -e, s. and adj. Syn. peu

In the definitions of Weltbürger given by German scholars of this period, it should be remarked, there are no traces of the contemptuous attitude found earlier in the French use of the word and later in the English. The derivative terms, however, Weltbürgerschaft and Weltbürgern, are held in lower esteem both by the philologist^{ol} and the philosopher, and are used, in the main, in a spirit of humorous derision.

Spain and Italy lagged behind the northern countries in their adoption of cosmopolitan doctrines. I find the word cosmopolite, listed first in a Spanish-English dictionary published in Philadelphia in 1823; and the word cosmopolitano in a Vocabolario Universale Italiano, Naples, 1830.¹

English writers, in the meantime, impelled by the growing force of cosmopolitan theory and practice in England as well as in France and Germany, re-adopted the term cosmopolite; and along with this personal epithet, the abstract term cosmopolitanism, to designate the general movement. The Monthly Review contained, in 1797, a biographical notice of the German Basedow and his cosmopolitan activities; and in the following year, a review of a French translation of Kant's article upon a "cosmopolitical federation."² But in the main, cosmopolitan is used by English writers from this time on in a highly derogatory sense. Washington Irving's whimsical statement (Knickerbocker's History, 1809) that "He was one of those vagabond cosmopolites who shark about the world as if they had no right or business in it," is typical of the nineteenth century attitude. Carlyle speaks scornfully in 1828 of "a certain attenuated cosmopolitanism" which had "taken the place of the old home feeling"; and Medwin, in his Angler in Wales, 1834, utters the reproach: "You have

¹The term evidently became recognized in Italy later than 1761; for in a tri-lingual dictionary published at Venice in that year, and compiled by an Italian, A. Antonini, although the French word cosmopolite is listed, no Italian equivalent is given. That such an omission is not the result of carelessness but of a clearly recognized lack in the Italian language may be inferred from the fact that while other French words in the list are defined, first in French and then by an Italian synonym, cosmopolite is defined at length in Italian, as "Abitante del mondo" etc., so as to render it intelligible to Italian readers. I have been unable to find any Italian dictionaries between 1761 and 1830; or any very good Spanish dictionaries of the early 19th century. ²Mo.Rev., v.XXIV p.515; v.XXVI p.561; William Taylor of Norwich.

merged the patriot in the cosmopolite."

Macaulay, in the History of England, has nothing but contempt for the cosmopolitan:

"Some had passed a great part of their lives abroad," (he says in one place) "and were mere cosmopolites," and again, he condemns "that cosmopolitan indifference to constitutions and religions which is often observable in persons whose life has been passed in vagrant diplomacy."

E. Edwards, in his Raleigh, 1868, declares that

"He was no cosmopolitan. He was an Englishman of the English."

Merivale, General History of Rome, 1875, maintains that

"The cultivation of the ideas of Greece . . . transformed the children of Quirinus into mere cosmopolitans."

And Tennyson, in Hands all round, 1885, dismisses the issue with the pat refrain:

"That man's the best cosmopolite
Who loves his native country best." 1

The reactionists against cosmopolitanism did not have, of course, entire monopoly of the term. Shelley, Coleridge, Lowell, and Emerson, for instance, used the term in its best sense.² But generally speaking, the genuine cosmopolites felt no need to label themselves and their theories; the labelling (or the libelling) was left to the opposing party.

This contemptuous attitude so prominent among nineteenth century Englishmen, it should be remarked, finds no counterpart in continental usage. Expressions may be found in French literature, undoubtedly, of contempt for the dilettante type of "attenuated cosmopolitanism" which consists merely in traveling around the world and doing as Rome does; but the main tendency among continental thinkers, in spite of the extreme nationalistic movements which prevailed after 1815, seems rather one of growing respect for cosmopolitanism as a philosophical and critical tendency.

¹Page references for Irving, Carlyle and citations following them may be found in the Oxford Dictionary under cosmopolite, cosmopolitan, cosmopolitanism, and cosmopolitanize.

²See citations in the Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia, History of the Term.

A comparison of contemporary passages from English, French, Italian and Spanish writers, clearly indicates a more favorable usage of the term on the continent than in England during the greater part of the nineteenth century.¹

During the past twenty-five or fifty years the word has come into better, if less frequent, usage in England and America. It occurs now and then in essays on literary criticism, and occasionally, in such statements as W. C. Russell's:

"If the army fails to cosmopolitanize a man, there is no hope for him."

But the word has been in the main superseded by the newer terms "international" and "internationalism".² A detailed history and comparison of the two sets of terms, cosmopolitanism and internationalism would be profitable, as throwing light upon the cosmopolitan movement of recent years. It is sufficient, here, to point out the chief point of contrast: that while the word internationalism is used in the more legal and specialized sense, to indicate the relation of nation to nation, or of a class in one country to the corresponding class of other nations, cosmopolitanism remains the more general and philosophical term, to indicate the relation of man toward man.

The historical sketch given here, though it has barely skimmed the surface of the ground to be covered, is enough to indicate, at least, one significant fact: that from some combination of causes working in the eighteenth century, certain terms previously non-existent or dormant in their several languages came into use almost simultaneously in France, Germany and England. What these causes were, and especially what were the main trends of thought in England which helped bring about this era of cosmopolitanism at the close of the eighteenth century, is the object of

¹Space forbids the full quotation from Spanish and Italian dictionaries etc. See especially Gherardini, and Bellini, Appendix B-II.

²See Oxford Dictionary. Beutham, in the Princ. Legisl. (1780), was the first to use the expression "international jurisprudence"; and the Monthly Review, (1786) followed suit in 1801 (four years after its pioneer review of cosmopolitanism) with an article on "A Comprehensive System of Civic Morality and International Obligation."

inquiry in the following section.

II

Cosmopolitanism, as even a casual survey of its history will disclose, has shown itself capable of widely varying interpretation. But leaving aside all apurious and superficial manifestations of the cosmopolitan spirit, I think it may be resolved, in its essence, to that attitude of mind expressed by Terence's

"Homo sum: nil humano mihi alienum puto."

When any man is truly possessed of such a spirit, we may agree, without further quibbling about a definition of terms, that here is a cosmopolitan. Such a one can claim kinship with all humanity, because he has come to regard man as man: not man as a Roman citizen, nor man as a member of the Church of England, nor man as a cog in a great manufacturing establishment, but man as a human being, embodying, to some degree, the qualities common to mankind.

Such a cosmopolitan attitude toward humanity involves, of course, a disposition to look beyond the narrow social group of which one forms a part. But it is in the interpretation put upon this "looking beyond", - or, as the problem is usually put, the relation between patriotism and cosmopolitanism, - which is the rock upon which most controversies split. There are those who regard the cosmopolitan tendency as directly destructive of national loyalty, as a direct negation of ordinary social bonds. And there are those who regard it rather as a direct expansion of social consciousness corresponding to the social evolution from family to tribe, from tribe to city commonwealth, from city to state, from state to a federation of states. Strictly speaking, however, the cosmopolitan spirit is the result neither of a direct reaction from nationalism nor of a direct expansion of nationalism. It is both, perhaps, but both indirectly; for between a strongly nationalistic period and a strongly cosmopolitan period there is usually an intermediate

stage of marked individualistic emphasis. In other words, the line of direction in the growth of cosmopolitanism is not in a straight line but rather in a kind of cycle: first, a revolt from the social unit and accepted social standards back to the individual; second, an expansion of emotions and ideas from the individual to mankind in general, by "the power of the imagination", (to use an expression of Coleridge's), "proceeding upon the all in each of human nature"; and finally (in many cases) a reactionary settling back to one's own hearthfire, a narrowing and hardening of diffused cosmopolitan tendencies into the standards and conventions of a limited social group.

These three tendencies,- the nationalistic, individualistic, and cosmopolitan,- are never found, of course, absolutely separate and distinct from each other. But at a given time in the life of an individual, in a philosophic system, or in the history of a nation, one or another of these tendencies receives special emphasis; and with varying degrees of intensity and duration, they follow each other in the cycle given above.¹

This psychological cycle may be best illustrated by a concrete example of it in the life of an individual; and Rousseau may be taken as one of the best for illustrative purposes,- not because he was more cosmopolitan than many others, but because his chief peculiarity lies in the fact that he exposes always the intermediate stages of his development in any line of thought. Rousseau's first appearance in the world of letters,- in his "Discours sur les Arts et les Sciences," (1750),- was as an individualist, an anti-socialist, if I may so use that term; his second discourse "Sur les Origines de l'Inegalite," (1754),- exhibits a distinctly

¹Posnett, in his Comparative Literature, lays great stress upon the union of the individual and the social in the cosmopolitan outlook. Such a view, though perhaps ~~too~~ enough, is practically meaningless: first, because the individual and social feelings are always united; and secondly because the word "social" makes no distinction between the more limited and the more universal social bonds.

cosmopolitan expansion of sentiment; and in The Social Contract, (1762), and in Emile, (1762), we find equally distinct evidences of nationalistic reaction.

Rousseau's marked individualism in social, religious and moral questions, is the dominant trait not only of his first work but of many of his later books; so persistent is it that the strictly cosmopolitan and nationalistic tendencies in his life and writings have been thrown pretty far into the background. But that he did pass through a distinctly cosmopolitan period, however short and however weak it may have been, is evidenced by certain passages in his second discourse, where he deplores the constant and bloody warfare among nations, and bewails the loss of

"the natural commiseration which . . . resides no longer except in some few great cosmopolitan souls who, freed from the imaginary barriers which separate peoples, after the example of the sovereign Being, . . . embrace all the human race in their good-will."¹

Rousseau retained throughout his life some traces, no doubt, of cosmopolitan sentiment. But in his later works he tended more and more to a strong nationalistic reaction. In his Social Contract he constructs an iron-bound state whose laws, once established, shall be as inexorable as the laws of gravity, and shall give as little free play to the individual. And in view of the demands of such a state upon the utter loyalty and subordination of the individual, Rousseau feels that the relinquishment of cosmopolitan views, though regrettable, is absolutely necessary. In one of the opening pages of Emile, he declares that

"Any limited social body, when it is straitly bound together, alienates itself from society at large. Every patriot is hard toward foreigners: they are only men," (mark the 'only'!) "they are nothing in his eyes . . . The essential is to be good to those with whom one lives . . . Distrust these cosmopolites who seek afar off in their books for duties which they disdain to fulfill toward those about them. Such a philosopher loves the Tartars in order that he may dispense with loving his neighbors."²

¹Rousseau, Ouvres, 1824, v.1, p.294.

²Rousseau, Ouvres, v.3, p.12.

That Mrs. Jellyby type of cosmopolitanism which calls forth Rousseau's contempt has been given a half-joking, half-serious expression by the seventeenth century cosmopolite, James Howell: "Difference in opinion may work a disaffection in me, but not a detestation. I rather pity than hate Turk or Infidel, for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

In Rousseau, then, we see the wheel come full circle: the individualistic revolt from existing society, a cosmopolitan expansion, and a nationalistic reaction. That Rousseau's new patriotism is for a hypothetical state, and not for the actual state from which he first revolted, I think does not make his case the less typical.

But, granted that a movement of cosmopolitan expansion takes place in the manner described,- as an individualistic revolt followed by a universalizing tendency,- what were the peculiar conditions which brought about such a marked cosmopolitan movement at the close of the eighteenth century?

To answer this question fully would involve a treatment of historical, economic and philosophical factors penetrating to every corner of eighteenth century life and thought, reaching back into the centuries and out toward all the countries of the world. Among these factors tending to the encouragement of cosmopolitan sympathies must be included the increasing ease of commerce, travel, and intercommunication of all kinds; international gazettes, and especially those in Holland at the beginning of the century; the expansion of colonies in America and elsewhere; wars, and the intercourse which they necessitated; the growing sympathy of political exiles for the countries which sheltered them, and the lines of international influence established by their means; and the examples of toleration and cosmopolitan sympathies set before Europe in the mixed populations of the republics of Holland and Switzerland.¹ A study of all these environmental factors making for a wider cosmopolitan spirit is impossible here. But in the realm of ideas, there are certain lines of development which formed the basic elements in eighteenth century cosmopolitanism, and which must be taken into account if we are to correlate properly the various parts of the movement.

differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our Church, so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." Letters, ed. 1907, v. II, p. 65.

¹Texte discusses several of the above points in the opening chapters of J.J. Rousseau.

Of these lines of thought, two stand out as of special importance: one, the change in speculative philosophy from the rationalistic to the empirical or sensationalist theory of mind; the other, in political philosophy, the problem of the individual and society.

In a sense, of course, all philosophy is cosmopolitan; and in systems centered about humanity it is possible to trace the characteristic cosmopolitan cycle. The first step in almost any philosophy is a nosce teipsum, a revolt from the accepted standards of human life back to the individual in search of undiscovered or neglected elements of humanity. Then follows the universal application of these new truths, the setting up of new principles; and finally, a gradual shrinking of these world-wide principles, a narrowing and hardening of values, and the identification of them with the conventional standards of a limited social group.

Just such a process took place in the rationalistic movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The progressive stages in the apotheosis of reason we are too familiar to need more than passing mention: first, the pitting of the individual reason (by Descartes, for example) against authority, dogma, superstition, inherited traditions; then, with the spread of this individualistic revolt, the spread of the doctrine that this intuitive faculty of reason is inherent in all men alike, regardless of age or clime or education; and finally, the degeneration of this more or less passive cosmopolitanism into a narrow conventionality which was neither truly individualistic nor truly cosmopolitan. For, said the neo-classicist, if the dictates of reason are universally the same, why look farther than myself, than my set, than the rules laid down by Horace and Boileau? And if forced by circumstances to look beyond these limits, he started back horrified at the unnatural perversion of nature among humanity beyond the pale.

It was against this narrow rationalism that the new individualistic revolt of the eighteenth century was directed. The foundations of this revolt had been laid, before the beginning of the century, by Lock's empirical theories, and espec-

ially by his doctrine that "Nothing can be in the intellect which was not first in the senses." Such a doctrine, and the importance allowed by it to individual environment and education, had begun to color the rationalistic theories even in the earlier part of the century; but by the time Hume's Treatise appeared, with its application of Locke's doctrines to the arraignment and utter dethronement of the reason as a false god, the general emphasis in the thought of the time began to shift more and more from the common standards of reason to the individual passions and affections, to the idiosyncracies of talent and temperament due to the particular environment of the individual.

This insistence upon the importance of individual and national differences led to a fresh cosmopolitan impulse, differing in its emphasis from the rational cosmopolitanism which preceded it. The rationalist had said, "All men are fundamentally alike"; and he had been tempted to infer from thence, "therefore, all men are, or ought to be, like me." The empiricist, rebelling against the unjustified conclusion, rather than against the fundamental principle, began to insist, "Men are naturally unlike; and especially, nations and races are naturally unlike. Therefore we should not expect them to conform to our standards, or to any set of standards. Let us learn to understand their differences and appreciate their peculiar excellencies."

In the movement toward political cosmopolitanism, as we shall see presently, the more rationalistic philosophy prevailed throughout the century. But in the field of literary criticism, the break from rationalistic to empirical is strongly marked; and it coincides so closely with the change from classical to romantic that the two sets of terms may be used interchangeably. Texte identifies cosmopolitanism entirely with romanticism. The two movements were coincident in the eighteenth century, and, in the literary field especially, vitally connected. But there is a classical cosmopolitanism, surely, as well as a romantic; or, perhaps I should say, cosmopolitanism is capable of either a classical or romantic

tendency, at the hands of its professors, according as it emphasizes either the fundamental likenesses among mankind, or the fundamental differences. "The differences among men are very slight," says the classicist; "but they are very important", insists the romanticist. "Great literatures of all tongues and of all ages are governed by the same basic principles of art," holds the classicist; "but those basic principles," adds the romanticist, "come to us veiled in such manifold garments of individual and racial expression, that only by an understanding and appreciation of the peculiar genius which produced it can we presume to judge any work of art." "Try all things," therefore urges the romanticist; "hold fast" preaches the classicist.

Each of these two tendencies, of course, holds its peculiar dangers.¹ The proper balance of the two tendencies is essential to preserve the true spirit of cosmopolitanism. There are those, I suppose, who would claim that this proper balance constitutes the truly classical, - as opposed to the neo-classical, - cosmopolitan ideal.² But even the purest type of classical cosmopolitanism, if kept too long from light and air, shows such an unstable tendency toward degeneration that a little romantic exaggeration is found necessary, from time to time, to preserve a proper equilibrium. Such a romantic exaggeration, acting as a revivifying influence upon the decayed rationalistic cosmopolitanism, occurred in the literary world of the late eighteenth century.

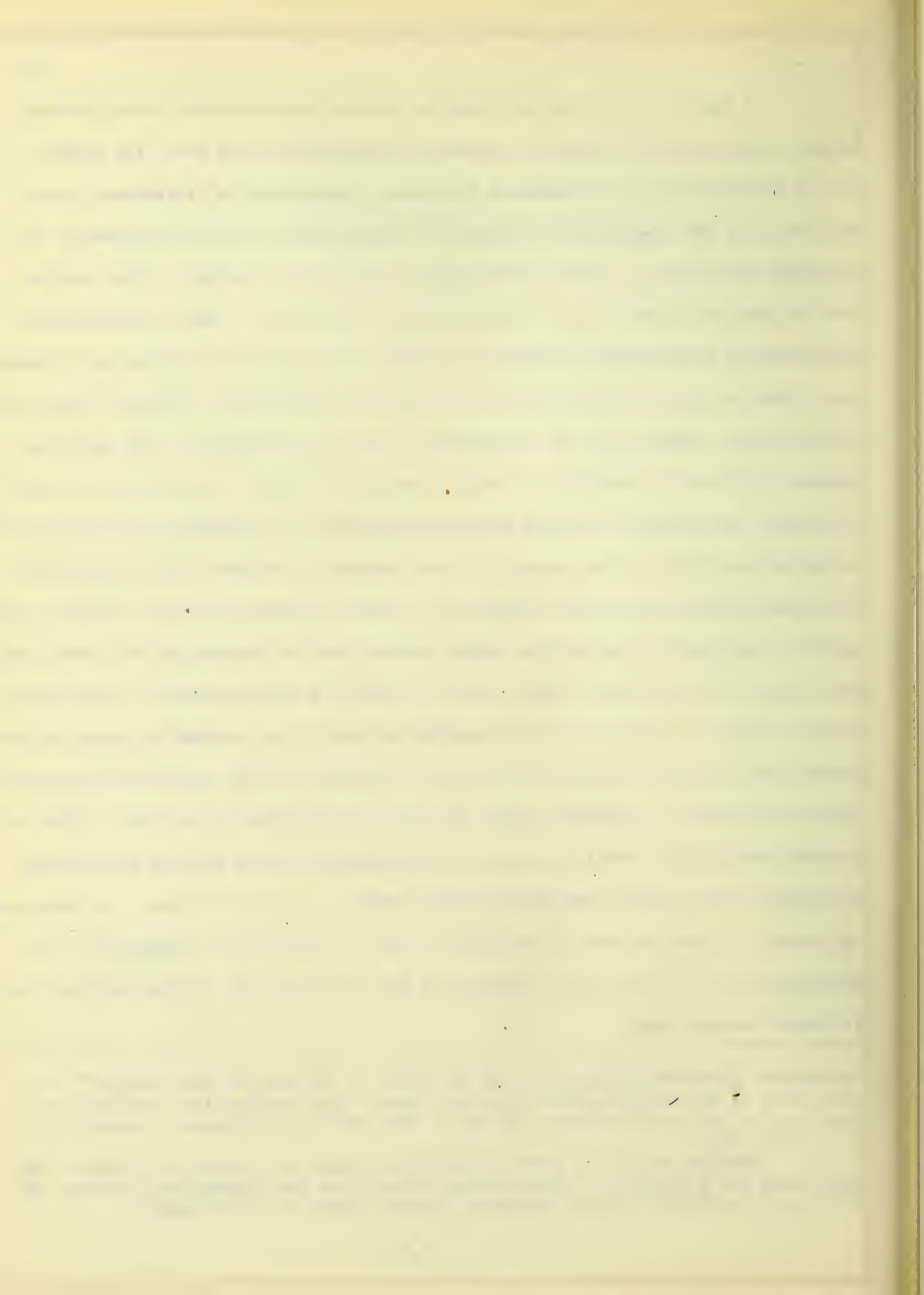
¹Rationalistic cosmopolitanism is peculiarly liable to harden into the kind of narrow intolerance illustrated in the neo-classical school; romantic cosmopolitanism, to expand into a dangerous critical laxity and dilettantism. Either of them, however, may follow the opposite tendency, as illustrated in the sentimental deism on the one hand, and, on the other, the development of romantic "national genius" theory into the hard egoism of the German Kultur propaganda. For such a development see Brunetière's essay upon La Lutte des Races, in which he emphasizes the classical basis of cosmopolitanism as a corrective of the opposite tendency.

²The true classical cosmopolitanism, of course, does not exhibit the unreasonable insistence upon individual reason which was characteristic of 18th century deism. By universal laws of reason the classicist meant "The general and perpetual voice of men...which we may not so understand, as if every particular man in the whole world did know and confess whatsoever the Law of Reason doth contain." But yet, the true classical cosmopolitanism, like the neo-classical, stresses the

I have said that the two lines of thought which underlay the eighteenth century individualistic revolt and cosmopolitan expansion were two: the change from a rationalistic to an empirical psychology (paralleled in literature, as we have seen, by the change from classicism to romanticism); and the development, in political philosophy, of the problem of the individual and society. This problem was one peculiarly absorbing to the eighteenth century mind. Until the middle of the preceding century, great thinkers had felt no necessity for raising such a question: the individual and society were regarded as inseparable; they were never considered apart, except with the understanding that such a separation was purely abstract. But with the creation of that philosophical fiction, the "state of nature", by Hobbes, the attention not only of philosophers but of literary men and the general public was called to the question of the relation of society to the individual; Cumberland, Locke, Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Francis Hutcheson, Butler, Hume and Adam Smith in turn took up the problem, while Rousseau and the Encyclopedists contributed their share. The solutions offered were as various as their authors;¹ but the important thing for us here is not the particular conclusions reached by these philosophers, but the mere fact that they were so concerned with the problem of the individual as to keep it constantly before the mind of the public for so long. "The individual and society" was taken up as a catch phrase, and was bandied about indiscriminately by young men of the Revolutionary period. If you will count, for instance, the number of times the word "individual" occurs in Wordsworth's Prelude or in his Excursion, you will understand something of the hold which the problem had upon the eighteenth century mind.

fundamental likenesses among men, "we all being of one and the same nature," i.e., as opposed to the brute creation; "because nature doth presume that how many men there are in the world, so many gods as it were there are." (Hooker, Eccles. Pol., Bk. I, sec. Viii.)

¹For a comparison of these theories the reader is referred to Tomkins, The Individual and Society. Mr. Tomkins has omitted from his discussion, however, two of the most important English thinkers, Richard Hooker and John Locke.



The development of this problem in ethics and political philosophy proceeded independently, for the most part, of the movements already noted in philosophical psychology. But since the political movement was based, in most cases, upon a theory of natural law or the law of reason, it became closely identified with the rationalistic movement; and the cosmopolitan expansion which resulted from it was of the rationalistic or neo-classical type, based upon an exaggerated faith in the innate resemblances of all "natural" men in matters of reason and morality. As a result of this fact, we find that while the two movements of literary cosmopolitanism occurred during the same period, and both of them closely allied with what is usually termed the romantic revolt, they are based upon two opposite tendencies of the cosmopolitan spirit: the political cosmopolitanism continuing the rationalistic or classical emphasis upon the likenesses of mankind, the literary emphasizing the new empirical or romantic view of the individual and national differences among men and their art.

III

Before progressing far in any discussion of literary cosmopolitanism, it is usually necessary to limit the term somewhat sharply. There are two conceptions of the term which I wish to exclude from this discussion. One is, the conception of literary cosmopolitanism as any expression of cosmopolitan sentiment in literary form; the other, the use of the term in regard to a piece of literature to indicate a state of its being read in all parts of the world, or beyond the nation in which it was produced. Both of these uses of the term are obviously so inclusive and so vague as to make it of little use as a descriptive or guiding term. Literary cosmopolitanism, as I have used the term, and as I think it is most correctly used, is simply a tolerant and appreciative attitude toward literatures other than one's own; a transposition of the cosmopolitan feeling toward the men of other nations and races, into an analogous feeling toward their literatures.

One might expect social and literary cosmopolitanism to accompany each other. Such is not always the case with individual men or with groups of men; but in the general cosmopolitan movement of the eighteenth century, the social and the literary were closely related; and the literary movement, like the social or political, ran a more or less parallel course in England, France and Germany.

The term "parallel", however, can be used only with considerable reservation. The movements in the three countries occurred during approximately the same period of time, and sprang from the same fundamental principles. But owing to peculiar national conditions,- or to put it more accurately, to the peculiar international conditions,- prevailing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the movements in the three countries manifested ^{themselves} in radically different ways. To put the matter briefly, literary cosmopolitanism in France was identified almost altogether with what Texte calls "exotisme"; in England and Germany, it was more closely allied with, or accompanied by, a strongly nationalistic movements; and especially was this so in the case of Germany. The reason for such a difference is obvious: France had been, let us say, for a hundred years the republic of letters,- or better, the empire, even the autocracy of letters- with the currents of influence flowing out from her to the surrounding countries, with a minimum of incoming currents of influence, and with very few lines of communication established between the countries on the periphery except through their common center. When the reversal comes, the significant changes would naturally be, for France, the sudden flood of incoming currents; while the significant changes for England and Germany would be the overthrow of the French hegemony by the growing sense of their own national genius; and the new lines of influence established with each other and with literatures other than the French.

One must keep clearly in mind this state of affairs in order to understand the difference between the movement of literary cosmopolitanism in France as contrasted with that in England and Germany; to understand why for the French crit-

ic, such as Texte, the new English and German influences upon French writers should be of such all-absorbing importance,¹ while for England and Germany during the same period, the relations with French literature should be comparatively meaningless. To the French, the cosmopolitan movement meant the overthrow,- at least apparent and temporary,- of their literary dominance, and the substitution of the exotic romanticism of the north for what they have always regarded as the peculiar spirit of their national literature.² In England and Germany, on the other hand, the cosmopolitan expansion was vitally connected with strong nationalistic movements. The English revival of national origins,- Gaelic and Welsh, Milton, Spenser, the old ballads, the Gothic romance,- is closely related to the new interest in Scandinavian and German literature. For the Germans, the cosmopolitan movement brought with it a new recognition, on their own part and on the part of the world, of German national literature. This accounts, perhaps, for the astonishment which Texte has somewhere expressed, that Goethe should have been, in regard to literature, both such a patriot and such a cosmopolitan. Of course, for many Germans, (Klopstock, for example) the nationalistic development entirely absorbed the cosmopolitan element; and Herder's plea that every people should have the right to their own literary ideals, in accordance with their particular genius,³ was drowned in the more insist-

¹In speaking of the relation between Clarisse Harlowe and Julie, Texte says: "Pour la première fois, un grand écrivain anglais avait servi de modèle à l'un de nos grands écrivains français. Faut-il s'étonner que les contemporains aient noté le fait comme un signe des temps." (J.J. Rousseau, p.XIII.)

²See such passages in Texte as the following: "apposer la tradition latine à la littérature du Nord, l'humanisme- comme on dit aujourd'hui- à l'exotisme ou au cosmopolitisme" (p.VIII)

"'Cosmopolitisme', qui a battu en brèche cette influence, [l'influence, sur notre génie national, de l'esprit classique,] et qui prétend s'y substituer."

"Qu'est-ce donc que le cosmopolitisme, ou l'exotisme a représenté d'abord d'abord?" (p.IX)

"A cette école de Rousseau et des Anglais, nos pères ont appris à goûter ce que M^{me} de Staël appelle le génie du Nord. Ils sont devenus, ou ils sont commencent à être cosmopolites, c'est-à-dire las de la domination trop prolongée des littératures antiques." (p.XIV)

³See Joret, La Littérature Allemande, p.31.

ent cry that the German people should have the right to their own literary ideals, in accordance with their particular genius. But that cosmopolitan expansion was not lacking is apparent from the enthusiastic reception given by the Germans to the work of Young, MacPherson, and other English writers of the century. As early as 1739 Germany was reaching out toward England for literary inspiration. And Coleridge, at the close of the century, spoke with enthusiasm of "the cosmopolitanism of Germany" as contrasted with "the contemptuous nationality of England and the ostentatious and boastful nationality of France."¹

If we accept as characteristic of a cosmopolitan movement the cycle from nationalism to individualism to cosmopolitanism, but substitute in the formula for literary cosmopolitanism (since the nation and not the individual is the unit in literature), the terms Classicism - Nationalism - Cosmopolitanism, the difference between ^{the} literary cosmopolitan movements in France, Germany and England may be described as follows: That in France the individual or nationalistic element was so weak as to be almost lost sight of in the exoteric expansion; that in Germany, on the contrary, the nationalistic revolt was so strong as to divert the genuine cosmopolitan expansion; while in England the two movements- the nationalistic and the cosmopolitan- were so closely related and so evenly balanced as hardly to be remarked upon as two distinct and antagonistic movements, but as two connected phases of the revolt against the narrow standards of the pseudo-classical school.

IV

For the study of the cosmopolitan movement in England, then, the important lines of international influence are not those with French literature, but with the Northern literatures (Icelandic, Scandinavian, German) and with the literatures of

¹I have lost the exact references for these statements. See Joret and histories of German romanticism for the course of English influence in Germany. The passage from Coleridge is quoted in the Century Dictionary.

the Orient. That the movement was a real cosmopolitan one, however, and not (as Texte implies) a mere substitution of one literary fashion for another, of romanticism for classicism, is evident from the attitude of the initiators of the new movement toward the literatures of southern Europe, and toward the Greek and Latin classics. Gray, for instance, a leader in the revival of old Norse and Welsh, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Italian poets, and one of the few Englishmen of his time who read and loved Dante. Hurd defends Ariosto against the French critics, and Warton, in his defense of Spenser, shows himself an equally warm champion of Homer against the slurring remarks of Scaliger on the father of poetry. And it should be remembered, also, that all relations between English and French literature, were by no means broken off; the revolt against classicism, insofar as it was cosmopolitan and not merely partisan, was not an attempt to over-throw French literature, but merely a demand, warmly seconded by the French themselves, for the recognition of other literary standards than those of Boileau.

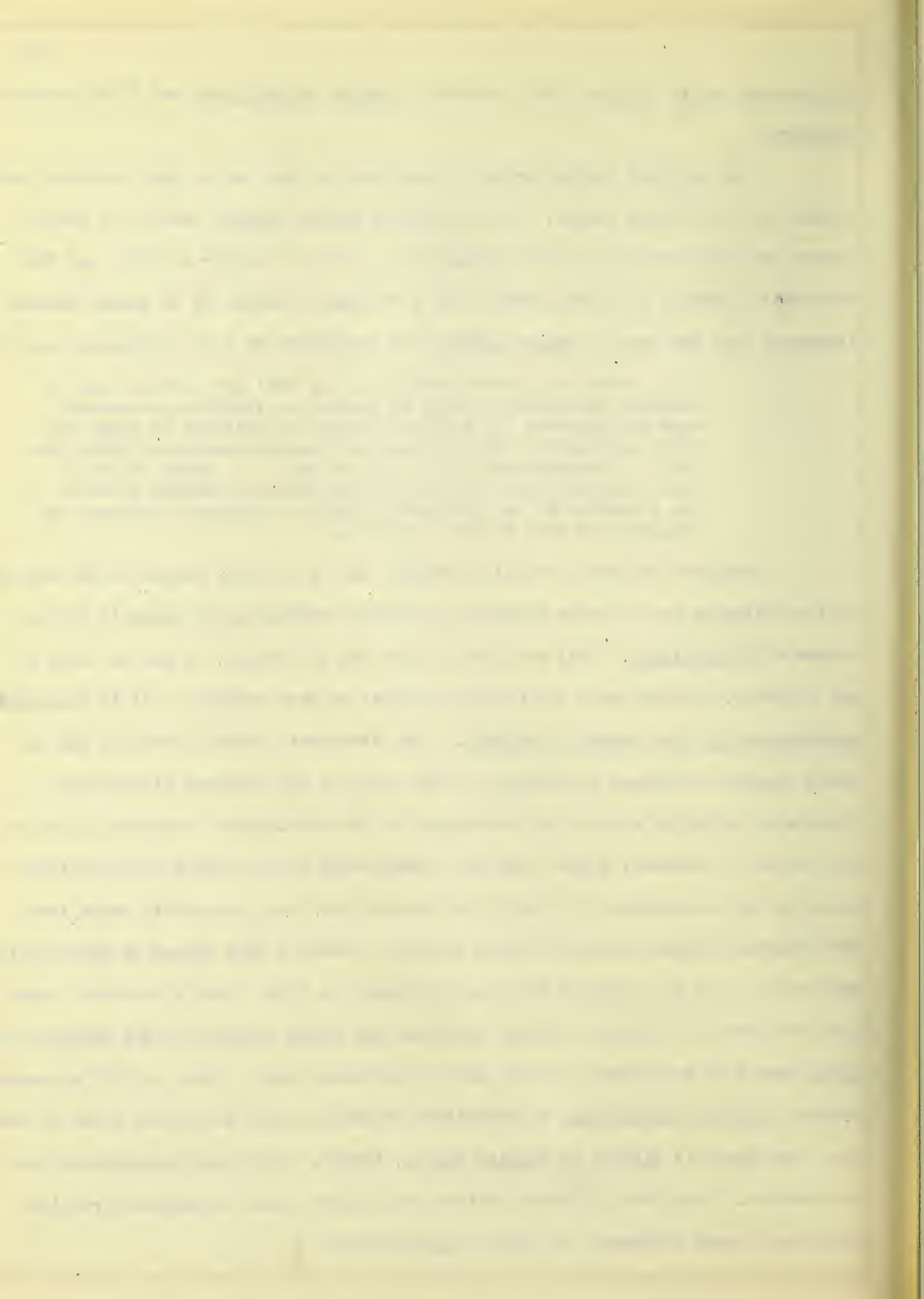
Of the various new literary interests which comprised the cosmopolitan expansion of the century, Scandinavian was most directly connected with, or we might say, initiated by, the nationalistic revival. The enthusiasm for Old Norse arose during the same period as that for old English, Welsh, and Gaelic, with Bishop Percy as one of the prime movers in each. Of course, this popular tendency was considerably ante-dated by the work of antiquarians; but these scholars, or at least the number of their works available to English readers on the subject of Scandinavian mythology and languages, were few; and their successors of the eighteenth century were for the most part content to adopt the results of their investigations and their Latin translations of Old Norse poetry and sagas, without investigation or study of the language on their own part. The chief sources of their knowledge were four Latin dissertations of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, two of them by Scandinavians, two by Englishmen: 1636, 2nd ed. 1651, Wormius, A Latin treatise on Ancient Danish Poetry; 1670, Robert Sheringham,

De Anglorum Gentis Origine; 1687, Bartholin, Danish Antiquities; and 1705, Hickee's Thesaurus.

The earliest English writer of any note to make use of this Icelandic material was Sir William Temple. In his essay Of Heroic Virtue, (sec. 17), Temple quotes two long passages, in Latin translation, headed "Exerpta ex Edda" and "Ex Snorronæ" (probably from Sheringham); and a few pages farther on he quotes several fragments from the song of Regner Ladbrog, as translated by worm, declaring that it

"... is very well worth reading by any that love poetry; and to consider the several stamps of that coin, according to several ages and climates ... such an alacrity or pleasure in dying was never expressed in any writing, nor imagined among any other people ... I am deceived, if in this sonnet, there be not a vein truly poetical, and in its kind Pindaric, taking it with the allowance of the different climates, fashions, opinions, and languages of such distant countries."

Temple's attitude, or his knowledge, was by no means common in his day or in the following age. Dryden included an English translation of Hickee's in his volume of Miscellanies, 1716; but Pope and the men of his day, so far as there is any evidence, regarded such antiquarian interest as mere pedantry. It is to Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark, 1755, that most critics attribute the renewed impetus in England and France, to the study of the Northern literatures. Stimulated by Mallet's work, and encouraged by the enthusiastic reception given to the Ossianic fragments, Thomas Gray and Bishop Percy set to work almost simultaneously on the translation into English of some of the Norse songs with which they were familiar through Latin or French versions. Percy's Five Pieces of Runic Poetry was drawn up for the press in 1761, and published in 1763. Gray's two odes, based upon the Latin of Bartholin through Torfaeus, The Fatal Sisters and The Descent of Odin, were also translated in 1761, but not published until 1768. In 1770 appeared Percy's Northern Antiquities, a translation of Mallet, with additional notes of his own. And Warton's History of English Poetry, 1774-8, shows some acquaintance with the subject. Some idea of ^{the} spread of this new interest may be inferred from the fact that Thomas Jefferson, in 1781, suggested that:



"To the professorships usually established in the Universities of Europe, it would seem proper to add one for the antient languages and literature of the North, on account of their connection with our own language, laws, customs, and history."

It is hardly necessary here to review in detail the development of Scandinavian influence in England during the closing years of the century. F.E. Farley in his Harvard dissertation upon Scandinavian influence in the English Romantic Movement, 1903, has covered the ground pretty thoroughly, making full use of the careful investigations made by Professors Kittridge and Phelps, the Tovey ed. of Gray and other available sources. Mr. Farley has traced the Scandinavian influence in about fifty minor poets of the later eighteenth century; and his chronological table contains, besides the earlier source material, about one hundred eighteenth century publications directly connected with the growing interest in Northern antiquities.¹ An examination of the materials which Mr. Farley has brought together is convincing evidence that the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a notable rise of interest, on the part of Englishmen, in Scandinavian literature.

Closely allied to the Scandinavian movement was the slowly growing interest of English readers in German literature. Until very late in the century, either German influences in England were curiously lacking, or curiously obscure; what literary influences have been brought to light by recent investigators are chiefly those in the direction of England toward Germany.²

During the sixteenth century, that stirring and cosmopolitan period, the bonds between England and Germany seem to have been close ones; and the influence of German popular literature as it figured in Barclay's Ship of Fools, Marlowe's

¹One item not mentioned by Farley that seems to me worth investigating is the connection of Mary Wollstonecraft with the Scandinavian movement. I have been unable to discover anything on this point except that in 1796 she published a volume of Letters Written during a Short Tour in Sweden, Norway and Denmark; and that in 1797, just after her death, Cottle's Icelandic Poetry, or the Edda of Saemund translated into English verse, was prefaced by a poetical address of Southey to the author, containing a panegyric of Mary Wollstonecraft.

²C.H. Herford has made a thorough survey of the 16th century in his Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 11th century, 1882; and Gilbert Waterhouse has continued the investigation in The Literary Relations of England

Faustus, and Dekker's Guls Horn-booke, was remarkably strong.¹ During the seventeenth century, the connection between the two countries was loosened, partly because of the dearth of literary material in Germany, partly because of the growing dominance of classical ideals in England, which precluded any literary contributions which Germany might have been able to make at that period. Some study of the languages was kept up, however: according to Gilbert Waterhouse:

"Many of the great divines of the 16th century, e.g. Archbishop Grindal of Canterbury, Bishops Hooper, Coverdale and others, were diligent students of the language, as also were Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, and Philip, his brother. Passing to the next century we learn that John Evelyn, the author of the Diary, studied High German in Paris in 1646..... In 1635 a sort of academy called Musaeum Minervae was founded in London, and German figured in the curriculum."²

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, means for the study of the language were not wholly lacking. There had been published, before the opening of the century, two German grammars written for Englishmen: in 1680, Aedler's The High Dutch Minerva a la Mode, and another in 1687 by Heinrich Offelen.³ In 1706, John King put out an English and High German Grammar; and in the May number of the Gentleman's Magazine, 1731, there is listed "A new German Grammar by Benedictus Beiler." But evidences are lacking of any extensive study, or even of a lively interest, in the German language and literature during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. The only strong connection between England and Germany during this period seems to have been that of religious interests. Gilbert Waterhouse mentions a collection of Divine Hymns, 1720, enlarged and republished as Psalmodia Germanica in 1722, 1725, 1732, 1765; and several Moravian hymn books published in 1742, 1754, 1789. In the year 1635 John Wesley, while on his voy-

and Germany in the 17th century (1914). But there is as yet no comprehensive study of German literary influence in England during the 18th century.

¹See the opening chapters of Herford's Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the 16th Century.

²Herford, Literary Relations. p. 117.

³The title as given by Waterhouse, p.118, is "Zweyfache Grundliche Sprach-Lehr, fur Hochdeutsch englische, and fur Engländer hochdeutsch zu lernen."

⁴Contained in Percy's Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese, v.II

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...
...the ... of the ...

age to America, noted in his Journal that he was studying German. And one of the few translations from the German as early as 1750 was that of the "Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China," from the German of J. L. de Mosheim, Chancellor of his Majesty's University of Göttingen.⁴

Just when eighteenth century German literature began to be popularized in England it seems impossible to find out with any degree of certainty. General opinion fixes the date as late as 1790. But from a passage in Vicesimus Knox's essay "On Simplicity of Style in Prosaic Composition"¹ it may be inferred that at least Gessner's novels were not only known but somewhat of a fad among the general English public; as early as 1777; and by the year 1800, Wordsworth in his Preface to Lyrical Ballads, speaks of the frantic novels and sickly German tragedies as of a flood of many waters inundating the land. William Beckford, with his Popular Tales of the Germans, 1791, was one of the earliest in the new movement; and the following decade witnessed a wave of wild enthusiasm for things German.² Most of the actors in this literary spectacle were mediocre translators and theatrical managers; but the three literary men usually given credit for introducing German literature into England are William Taylor, Coleridge, and Monk Lewis.

William Taylor of Norwich, by his contributions to current periodicals and by a few separately published works, did probably as much as any other English writer during the last decade of the century to awaken popular interest in German literature.³ Taylor spent a year and a half of serious study and travel in Germany.

¹"There are several books popular in the present age, among the youthful and inexperienced, which have a sweetness that palls on the taste, and a grandeur that swells to a bloated turgidity. Such are the writings of some modern Germans. The Death of Abel is generally read and preferred before many to all the productions of Greece, Rome and England." Quoted by Herzfeld, William Taylor, p.7.

²See Pierce, Eddies and Currents, p.37-42.

³For the life and literary influence of Taylor, the reader is referred to J. W. Robberds, A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the Late William Taylor of Norwich, author of "English Synonyms discriminated," "An Historic Survey of German Literature," etc.etc., and to Georg Herzfeld, "William Taylor von Norwich," in Studien zur Englischen Philologie, v.II.

⁴Contained in Percy's Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese, v.II.

(May 1781 to November 1782) acquiring before he was seventeen years old a proficiency in the German language which was almost unparalleled in England at that time. In 1790 he translated Burger's Lenore. It was not published until March, 1796, in the Monthly Magazine; but in the meantime it received a wide private circulation, served as the inspiration for several other versions of the poem, including Scott's, and created, in short, quite a literary sensation.¹ In 1791 Taylor had printed a translation of Lessing's Nathan der Weise, and in 1793, a translation of Goethe's Iphigenia auf Taurus,—both of them for private circulation, and not published until later. From 1793 on, Taylor exerted a quiet but pervasive influence toward a more liberal cosmopolitan spirit through his hundreds of book reviews and articles on foreign affairs, published mostly in the Monthly Review and the Monthly Magazine. But before 1800, his efforts were well seconded by one of the temporarily conspicuous figures of the time, the young Monk Lewis.

Coleridge's part in the movement did not begin until almost the close of the century. According to J. L. Haney's account of the German influence on Coleridge, he "possessed some knowledge of German literature and made several attempts to study the language before his departure for Germany in 1798." But this knowledge must have been very recent. The first record of his interest in German literature was a letter to Southey, in 1794, telling him that he had just finished reading Schiller's Robbers; in 1795, he quoted a passage from Cabale und Liebe in his Conciones ad Populum; in the third issue of his Watchman, 1796, there appeared an "Historical Sketch of the Manners and Religion of the Ancient Germans, Introductory to his Sketch of the Manner, Religion and Politics of Present Germany." That same year, Coleridge made his first acquaintance with Lessing, and began the study of the language; and in 1797 he started a translation of Weiland's Oberon. Coleridge's great influence in introducing German philosophy and literature did not begin, of course, until after his return from Germany in July, 1799. In 1800 he translated

¹These translations of Lenore included Dr. Aikin's, 1791, Spencer's, 1796, and Walter Scott's, 1796.

Schiller's Wallenstein; and he volunteered to write a chapter on German poetry in a projected History of Universal Literature, to be written by Southey. But the exact extent of Coleridge's influence is difficult to measure, because most of his enthusiasm, was expended either in conversation, or in plans for works which never appeared.

In the meantime, the young Monk Lewis had gained a considerable audience for his translation of Kabale und Liebe,¹ and his adaptations and imitations of German ballads. During his travels in France, Germany and Scotland, upon leaving Oxford, Lewis had absorbed much of the popular literature of those countries; and the result was a volume of ballads published in 1799 entitled Tales of Terror, and a second volume, Tales of Wonder in 1800.² These two volumes, containing ballads from the Portuguese, Provençal, German, Danish, Runic, Lapland, Scotch, Welsh and Old English, exhibit a cosmopolitan range of interest of the first degree. While only a small number of the ballads are marked "German", many of the "Northern", "Runic" and "Danish" came to Lewis through the German, especially through Herder's Volkslieder; so that the German influence, on the whole, is predominant.

The Tales of Wonder, it may be remarked in passing, contain along with Lewis's work, three of Scott's first ballads, all of them marked "German"; and a copy from the Monthly Magazine of Taylor's "Leonore", which first inspired Scott's poetic enthusiasm.

In conclusion, then, we may say that the English literary world, which at the opening of the century knew little and cared less, about any literatures except those of Greece, Rome, France, and London, came by the 1800, through a gradual revolt against the narrowness of the pseudo-classical French school, not only to a new appreciation of their own national antiquities but also to a distinctly cosmopolitan attitude of appreciation for the related literatures of Iceland, Scandinavia and Germany.

¹Monk's translation, in 1797, was entitled "The Minister."

²Superseded by a London ed. T. of Wonder, 1801. The first two books, (1799 and 1800) were reprinted by Henry Morley in 1887.

Another thread of this growing cosmopolitanism and one which developed independently of the Norse and German movements, was the interest in orientalism which made its appearance in the eighteenth century. A survey of a long list of oriental tales which Miss Conant has collected in her The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century might lead one to suppose, at first glance, that here was a most astounding manifestation of cosmopolitan spirit, suddenly springing up in the opening years of the century and fairly permeating English life and literature for a hundred years.¹ But the further one penetrates into these oriental tales, the more he becomes convinced that they are evidences of very little genuine cosmopolitanism. These oriental tales are so anglacized and rationalized and universalized and moralized that scarcely a trace of anything oriental remains in them. They remind one of the icily regular Chinese pagoda which was the wonder of Kew-Gardens during the middle years of the century.² Many of them were modeled after such stories as Marmontel's Moral Tales, which were less oriental than French, and, in my opinion, less moral than either. In the main, the quick succession of oriental tales in early eighteenth century literature has hardly more than the status of a literary fad, and evinces scarcely more of real cosmopolitan sentiment than the copying of a French headdress by English ladies of fashion. This fad of orientalism was less a result of cosmopolitanism than one of its causes, as it helped to accustom the English mind to Oriental names and allusions and to pave the way for a more serious interest later in the century.

I do not wish to imply, of course, that a cosmopolitan spirit was altogether lacking among the men of letters of the early eighteenth century. Addison, it seems to me, exhibits a truly cosmopolitan spirit in his attitude toward oriental literature. But his attitude partakes at times too strongly of ^{the} neo-classical,

¹Miss Conant's list contains only one oriental tale before 1700, and that translated from the French; ten in the first decade; in the following decade, twenty-seven tales in the *Guardian* and the *Spectator*, and seven published separately; from 1720-1750, about one a year; 1750-60, twenty-eight.

²See illustration of this pagoda in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1763, p.212.

over-emphasis on the likenesses among peoples and literatures, counterbalanced by too little of the romantic emphasis upon their striking differences. You will see at once what I mean by this if you will read the introduction to one of his oriental tales published in the Spectator (No. 289, January 31, 1711-12):

"The consideration with which I shall close this essay upon death, is one of the most ancient and most beaten morals that has been recommended to mankind. But its being so very common, and so universally received, though it takes away from the grace of novelty, adds very much to the weight of it, as it shows that it falls in with the general sense of mankind ... I am very much pleased with the passage of Antiphanes ... which represents the life of man under this view ... I think I have, in a former paper, taken notice of these beautiful metaphors in Scripture, where life is termed a pilgrimage ... I shall conclude this with a story which I have somewhere read in the travels of Sir John Chardin ... A Dervise travelling through Tartary" etcetera.

If you contrast the little moral allegory which follows, with such a tale as Beckford's Vathek, which appeared toward the close of the century, - a tale which some critics claim is so distinctively oriental in coloring and phraseology as to deserve a place by the side of the Arabian Nights themselves - you cannot fail to notice the difference between the early eighteenth century cosmopolitanism and the later. Beckford's cosmopolitanism errs too much, perhaps, on the romantic side; but that of Addison's contemporaries erred so much on the classical side (or neo-classical, if you prefer) that it ceased almost altogether to be cosmopolitan at all.

To illustrate the slow growth of any marked appreciation of the cosmopolitan spirit toward the orient, I should like to compare a passage from Sir William Temple, 1685, with one by an editor of the Arabian Nights in 1790, who, though living in a romantic ^{and} increasingly cosmopolitan period, has not yet attained to the breadth of vision of the true cosmopolite with regard to oriental art. William Temple, in his essay "Upon the gardens of Epicurus, or Of Gardening, in the year 1685," brings in the following important qualification of his rules for the advice of gardeners:

"What I have said, of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may for aught I know, have more beauty than any of the others... Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from oth-

ers, which have lived much among the Chinese; a people, whose way of thinking seems to ~~be~~ as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does ... The Chinese scorn this way of planting" (of exact symmetry) "and say, a boy, that can tell an hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines ... And whoever observes the work upon the best Indian gowns, or the painting upon their best screens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind (that is) without order."

A hundred years later, the Rev. Mr. Cooper, finding himself in the midst of such a garden, feels himself called upon to wield the pruning knife:

"During a trip which I lately made to the continent, I accidentally met with a French edition of the Arabian Nights Entertainments; having no other book at hand I was forced to wade through it. When I had finished.... it struck my imagination, that those tales might be compared to a once rich but luxuriant garden .. where scarce anything strikes the common observer but the weeds and briars with which it is overrun, whilst the more penetrating eye of the experienced gardener, discovers ... some ... delightful flowers. Full of this idea, I determined to turn florist ... I have endeavored to select a few ... tales, ... I have added many moral reflections, I have in many instances considerably altered the fables, and have given them a turn ... the most likely ... to fortify the youthful heart against the impressions of vice, and to point out to them the paths which lead to peace, happiness and honour." ¹

Even so late as 1785, orientalist felt obliged to impress it upon their readers constantly, that oriental peoples might be worthy of attention and respect without being at all like ^{Europeans.} Volney, for instance, in his Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783-84 and -85, declares:

"I repeat it, we judge of the ancients improperly, when we make our own opinions and customs a standard of comparison. The motives which influenced them, may appear to us extravagant, and possibly may really be so in the eye of reason, without having been less powerful, or less efficacious. Besides, we must engage in endless and idle contradictions of all history, to suppose in them a wisdom conformable to our own principles: we reason too much from our own ideas, and do not sufficiently attend to theirs."

Cosmopolitanism, like most things worth while, is a slow growth; and it is not to be wondered at that a whole nation cannot be converted over night to an intelligent appreciation of the literatures of the antipodes. But the movement, though slow, was a constant one, and not without its ardent champions. Bishop Percy is again a leading figure in the popularizing of oriental literature. His Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese, published in 1762, is probably, next

¹ Quoted by Miss Conant (p.108) from The Oriental Moralist or the Beauties of the Arabian Nights Entertainments, 1790(?) by J. Cooper.

to the Arabian Nights themselves (tr. between 1704 and 1712) and Beckford's Vathek (1784 and 1786), the most important single work of the century in the oriental movement. A citation of the table of contents will give a fair idea of the scope and interest of the work:

- v.1, I. A Dissertation on the language and characters of the Chinese.
- II. Rules of conduct by a Chinese Author, from the French of P. Parrennim, jesuit.
- III. The little Orphan of the House of Chao; a Chinese Tragedy. From the French translation of P. de Premare, jesuit.
- IV. On the Chinese Drama; from Mr. Hurd's Discourse on Poetical Imitation.¹
- v.2, I. Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China; from the German of J.L. de Mosheim.
- II. Of the Art of laying out Gardens among the Chinese, by Mr. Chambers, architect.
- III. A Description of the Emperor's Gardens and Pleasure Houses near Peking, from the French of Frere Attirst, jesuit.
- IV. A Description of the Solemnities observed at Peking on the Emperor's Mother entering on the sixtieth year of her age, from the French of P. Amyot, jesuit.

The contents of the two volumes need not be discussed in detail, although there are many points in them that would repay a careful study. Two points may be mentioned, however, One is, the large part played by the Jesuit missionaries in the education of the western world at this period in matters of all sorts pertaining to the East. Percy secured most of his material from the Jesuit collection of Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses published in twenty volumes between the years 1702 and 1758;

¹Percy's reprint of Hurd's remarks upon the Chinese drama is particularly valuable because the passage has been suppressed by Hurd in his own editions of his essay on Poetical Imitation. So far as I can find, this passage furnishes the only evidence of Hurd's interest in Chinese literature.

and it will be noticed, from the table of contents, that four of the eight pieces were by Jesuits. Another noteworthy fact is that suggested by Percy's preliminary discussion of the language and character of the Chinese: that there was already among English scholars and clergymen, considerable discussion as to the history of oriental languages.

"We ought not to conclude this Preface," Percy says, "without taking notice of a great discovery that has lately been made concerning the original of Chinese characters. Mr. Needham, an Englishman residing in Italy, seems to have proved beyond a doubt that the Chinese received them from the Egyptians."

The significance of this topic to the men of that day is expressed in the Critical Review as follows:

"The history of the Egyptians, concerning whom the learned have so long disputed, will probably be set in a true light by this fortunate discovery, and the enemies of revelation, and the scripture history, will be driven out of their only remaining subterfuge, the Chinese Chronology."¹

These two points indicate what a network of inter-acting causes were involved in the growing interest of Europe in China; one of them, the missionary work of the Jesuits, due in turn to the Catholic-Protestant controversy of the sixteenth century; another, the controversy between the orthodox churchmen and deists of the eighteenth century, which, of whatever value it proved to religion, served in this case, strangely enough, to stimulate an interest in comparative philology and literature.

From whatever causes, however, the interest in the orient sprang, the facts available point to a development throughout the century of a new appreciation of oriental literatures: an appreciation which was fostered by early imitations of the French "oriental tale", but which was vitalized by a deeper cosmopolitan spirit later in the century, during the period of cosmopolitan expansion toward Scandinavian and German literature.

¹Crit. Rev. 1762, p.512. The "discovery" referred to, was published in 1762 under the title of

V

So much, then, for the concrete evidences of cosmopolitanism as seen in the increasing number of translations or adaptations from foreign literatures previously ignored or unappreciated by the English. To conclude the discussion of literary cosmopolitanism I wish to examine five critical essays published between the years 1754 and 1762, as illustrating the development of the general principles underlying the cosmopolitan movement. These five works are:

Burke, A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, 1756, as illustrative of the two philosophical movements underlying eighteenth century cosmopolitanism.

Bishop Hurd's Discourse on Poetic Imitation, 1755-1757, as exemplifying the two contrasting tendencies, the rationalistic or classical and the empirical or romantic, in literary cosmopolitanism.

Thomas Warton, Observations on the Faerie Queene, 1754, and Bishop Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance, 1762, as embodying the central tenets of literary cosmopolitanism.

Goldsmith, An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe, 1759, as an attempt at literary criticism from a distinctly cosmopolitan viewpoint.

Burke's Essay on the Sublime is of interest not as a direct expression of cosmopolitan sentiment, but as an indication of how the two chief philosophic movements underlying cosmopolitanism permeated even such a subject as the theory of aesthetics. The first of these is that eighteenth century problem of the individual and society which arose in connection with political philosophy. How the whole scheme of Burke's essay hinges upon this problem is evident in his fundamental distinction between the sense of the sublime and the sense for the beautiful; the first of which, Burke declares, is based upon the individual passion of self-preservation; the second, upon man's social affections.

The second philosophical movement illustrated in Burke's essay is the change from the rationalistic school to the Lockian or empirical. Burke does not, it is true, state his psychological theories with quite the baldness of Vicesimus Knox, in his essay On Modern Criticism, where he maintains that "There is, indeed, in all works of true taste and genius, something of that elevated nature ... which can only be perceived by the vibrations it produces on the nervous system."¹ But, Burke shows himself distinctly anti-rationalistic in his insistence that the principles of taste and art have their root, not in the standards of proportion set up by the reason, but in the primitive affections and passions.

"Whenever the wisdom of our Creator intended that we should be affected with anything," he says, "He did not confide the execution of his design to the languid and precarious operation of our reason; but He endued it with powers and properties that prevent the understanding, and even the will, which, seizing upon the senses and the imagination, captivate the soul before the understanding is ready either to join with them, or to oppose them."²

This emphasis upon the sensations and the passions, as opposed to the emphasis upon pure reason,^{is} of course characteristic of romantic literary cosmopolitanism. It would be interesting to trace in Burke the blended elements of the classical and romantic tendencies; but for the sake of brevity and clearness I have chosen to illustrate such a balance of classical and romantic, Hurd's Essay on Poetic Imitation.

Hurd's essay is curiously adapted for illustrative purposes. The first of its two divisions develops consistently the classical tendency in cosmopolitanism: i.e., the insistence upon the fundamental likenesses of men in all places and times, resulting in certain basic principles of art which are the same in all literature, regardless of intercommunication or deliberate imitation. The second part of the essay, in its turn, insists upon the romantic elements in the cosmopolitan conception: namely, the recognition of distinct national and racial differences, each with their peculiar excellencies and weaknesses. Hurd's views on

¹ Essays, 1787, v.I, p.250.

² Works, v.2, p.633.

this point are well expressed in the following passage:

"As men of different tempers and dispositions assume a different cast of expression, so may the same observation be applied, still more generally, to different countries and times ... the eloquence of the eastern has, at all times, been of another strain from that of the western. And, also, in the several provinces of each, there has been some peculiar note of variation. The Asiatic, of old, had its proper stamp which distinguished it from the Attic; just as the French, Italian, and Spanish wits have, each, their several characteristic manners of expression."¹

A truly cosmopolitan spirit, of course, consists in the recognition of both of these tendencies. But after the eighteenth century perversion of the classical element, a special stress upon the romantic was needed to restore the proper balance. Thomas Warton and Bishop Hurd were among the earliest of the romanticists to formulate definite cosmopolitan principles of literary criticism. Without discussing the general value of Warton's Faerie Queen and Hurd's Letters on Chivalry and Romance, I shall merely enumerate half a dozen points in their critical theory which seem to me distinctly cosmopolitan in tendency: Their wide literary interests and tolerant sympathies; their insistence upon the possibility of more than one set of critical standards; their judgment of a work of art according to its historic origins and the national culture which produced it, and according to the purpose of the individual artist; and lastly, their view of English literature according to its place in international literature.

Anyone familiar with the works of Warton and Hurd must have been impressed with the wide range of their interests: their championship of Homer and the early Italian poets, their interest in the Middle Ages, in Celtic, in Scandinavian, and in Chinese, Arabian and Persian life and literature. These cosmopolitan interests carried with them, of course, a tolerance and a sympathy, which it was the special mission of these two writers to spread by precept and example. Indeed, to deepen the sympathies of his readers by widening their knowledge of the Faery Queen and the conditions under which it was written, is the critical force of the whole of Warton's

¹Hurd, Works, 1811, v.II, p.205.

essay. Hurd, in the opening of his Letters, strikes the keynote of the new critical tolerance, when he says:

"Yet barbarians have their own (philosophy). Shall we then condemn them unheard, or will it not be fair to let them have the telling of their own story?"

Warton and Hurd agree in their denial that conformity to French classical rules is the only criterion of excellence in a piece of literature. Warton at times slips back into the rule of thumb methods which he is condemning, as, for instance, where he is criticising Spenser's description of Cupid:

"Chaucer thus presents Cupid ... But the ancients have left us no authority for such a representation of Cupid. Our author (Spenser) gives him a green vest ... which is equally unwarrantable. Though Catullus has given him a yellow vest." (v.I., p.221.)

But his usual method of criticism is the reverse of such a procedure; and more than once we have an out and away denunciation of the single-standard set up by the neo-classicists, as in the passage:

"We who live in the days of writing by rule, are apt to try every composition by those laws which we have been taught to think the sole criterion of excellence ... Spenser did not live in an age of planning. Exactness in his poem, would have been like the cornice which a painter introduced in the Grotto of Calypso. Spenser's beauties are like the flowers of Paradise... If the Faery Queen be destitute of that arrangement and economy which epic severity requires, ... their place is amply supplied by something which more powerfully attracts us: something which engages the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head." (p.21)

Hurd, though with less enthusiasm, makes higher claims than Warton for the excellence of the Gothic.

"When an architect examines a Gothic structure by Grecian rules, he finds nothing but deformity. But the Gothic architecture has its own rules, by which when it comes to be examined, it is seen to have its merit, as well as the Grecian ... Judge of the Faery Queen by the classic models, and you are shocked with its disorder: consider it with an eye to its Gothic original, and you find it regular." (p.118)

The romanticist, as a partisan, may assert the superiority of the new standards over the old; but the romanticist as a cosmopolitan makes his plea merely for a fair trial of the new; And his complaint against the classicist, as Hurd

laughingly puts it, is that "He is perfectly enamored of his noble Antients, and will fight with any man who contends, not that his Lordship's is not fair, but that his own is fair also." (p.128)

As a substitute for the classicist's rule-of-thumb standard, Warton and Hurd employ the historical method of criticism. The greater part of both essays is taken up not with judging, but with explaining. Warton accounts for Spenser's "Gothic subject and manner of treatment" by tracing the sources of the Faery Queen to old romances such as the "Seven Champions of Christendom," "Morte d'Arthur" and the other miraculous tales which were still in vogue at the time when Spenser wrote. Hurd traces the sources of Gothic romance a step further. He insists not only that chivalry and romance were once vital forces in the lives of men, but that they were the inevitable outgrowth of social and political conditions of the middle ages. Hurd's Letters, in fact, were first written as "Serving to illustrate some Passages in the Third Dialogue," (of his Dialogues Moral and Political) which was "On the Age of Queen Elizabeth."

Not only should a work be judged, according to Warton and Hurd, with an eye to the national culture which produced it; it should be judged, also, with regard to the author's own purpose and ideals, with the standards which he himself consciously set up as his guide. As Warton puts it in one passage:

"It is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to." (p.21)

This doctrine is constantly reiterated throughout the essay; and Hurd echoes it with equal insistence, in such statements as the following:

"All this the poet knew very well, but his purpose was not to write a classic poem. He chose to adorn a gothic story." (p.127)

This principle of finding out all about a writer's individual aims and traits of temper before presuming to judge his work has been, no doubt, carried too far by some modern critics. But in the days of Warton and Hurd, such a method was a distinctly new, and a much needed, departure in literary criticism.

In addition to the points enumerated above, - cosmopolitan interests and wide sympathies, the plea for a revisal of old standards, the judgment of a piece of literature not by abstract rules, but with regard to the national or racial culture which underlay it, and with reference to the individual aims of the author - Warton and Hurd reveal their cosmopolitan spirit by the manner in which they regard English literature, not as an isolated unity, but as a part of a worldwide development of art and culture. For instance, in the explanation of Spenser's choice of a Gothic rather than a classical subject, Warton says:

"Such was the prevailing taste, when Spenser projected the Faery Queen... For although the French critics universally gave the preference to Tasso, yet, in Italy, the partisans on the side of Aristo were by far the most powerful, and consequently in England; for Italy, in the age of Queen Elizabeth, gave laws to our island in all matters of taste, as France has done ever since." (p.4)

In this passage and throughout the essays, Warton and Hurd maintain the attitude, - though it is nowhere so explicitly formulated as Brunetiere's, - that

"It would be a good thing to subordinate the history of particular literatures to the general history of the literature of Europe." ¹

Such an attitude surely entitles these two critics to a leading place not only in romanticism but in romantic cosmopolitanism.

To conclude our study of the cosmopolitan spirit in literary criticism, I have selected Goldsmith's Enquiry into the State of Polite Learning in Europe (1759). As a piece of literary criticism, Goldsmith's essay may not rank very high but it is noteworthy because it is the only definite attempt during this period

¹ Ferdinand . Brunetière, "Sur l'organisation de l'Enseignement Secondaire Français." Revue des Deux Mondes, Series III, v.105 (15 Mai, 1891). Since the passage is rather difficult of access, it is given in part. "Je veux dire que, depuis tantôt huit ou dix siècles qu'il se fait en quelque manière, d'un bout de l'Europe a l'autre bout, un commerce ou un échange d'idées, il serait temps enfin de s'en apercevoir, et, s'en apercevant, il serait bon de subordonner l'histoire des littératures particulières a l'histoire générale de la littérature de l'Europe... l'histoire d'une littérature europeene dont les littératures nationales ne sont que les manifestations locales. "

(so far as I have been able to discover) at an impartial comparative study of modern European literatures. A passage from his discussion of Scandinavian literature will serve to show the spirit of the work:

"Sweden has of late made some attempts in polite literature in its own language. Count Tessin's instructions to the prince, his pupil, are no bad beginning.* If the muses can fix their residence so far northward, perhaps no country bids so fair for their reception. They have, I am told, a language rude but energetic; if so, it will bear a polish. They have also a jealous sense of liberty, and that strength of thinking peculiar to northern climates, without its attendant ferocity. They will certainly in time produce somewhat great, if their intestine divisions do not unhappily prevent them."¹

Not all of Goldsmith's observations are so flattering. His strictures upon German pedantry are as amusing as Heine's own; and his judgments upon the state of literature in Germany, while they do not seem startling to us to-day, are keen and just.

"The society established by the King of Prussia at Berlin, is one of the finest literary institutions that any age or nation has produced.... The introduction of foreigners of learning was right, but in adopting a foreign language also, I mean the French, in this there was an error..... The ~~language~~ of the natives of every country should be also the language of its polite learning. To figure in polite literature, every country should make their own language from their own manners; nor will they ever succeed by introducing that of another which has been formed from manners which are different." (p.23 and p.25)

Goldsmith's attitude in this essay, it will be noted, is that of the romanticist, whose cosmopolitanism is an insistence upon the value of strongly national literatures. Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism, though at times seemingly antagonistic, developed together in nineteenth century literature; and the time is approaching when there will be as little conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in social and political fields. Just as the romantic zest and the romantic tolerance for national differences in literature superseded the neo-classical tendency toward an autocracy in letters, so a tolerant respect for national differences in manners and government is substituting the new international cosmopolitanism

*Count Tessin (1695-1770) translated into English his Letters to a Young Prince from his Governor, 1759, 3 v.

¹Goldsmith, Works, v.4, p.27.

for the old longing for world-empire. The classical feeling for the fundamental likenesses which bind humanity together must forever remain, of course, a basic element in true cosmopolitanism; but together with it, and inseparable from it, must be the romantic appreciation of individual, national and racial differences. It was not an accident that the romantic era brought into common usage the term cosmopolitanism; not an accident that the individualistic questionings and revolt of that era, and the empiricist's insistence upon the importance of individual and national environment upon life and art, should have preceded one of the most marked cosmopolitan movements in the history of the world. Romanticism as such has come and gone. But its contribution to the age-long progress of cosmopolitanism was one which is still bearing fruit among us.

* * *

* *

*

Appendix A

An Outline of Supplementary Topics

1. The cosmopolitan spirit and early Christianity - Effect of the Protestant reformation and the establishment of national churches upon cosmopolitanism - Jesuit missions - Contributions of deism to the cosmopolitan movement - Deistic cosmopolitanism contrasted with the evangelistic cosmopolitanism of the late eighteenth century - The missions of Butler and Berkeley - Moravian missions - John Wesley - William Carey and the modern era of Christian missions - Relation of deistic and evangelistic cosmopolitanism to the political cosmopolitanism of the revolutionary era.
2. Political cosmopolitanism at the close of the seventeenth century as indicated in Sir William Temple's Survey (1671), Observations (1672) and Original and Nature of Government (1672) - International relations in 1750 as reflected in the periodicals of the time - Goldsmith's Reflections on National Prejudice (1760) and Citizen of the World (1760) - Tom Paine in the American and French revolutions - Growth of cosmopolitan sentiments in the poets: Isaac Watts, Edward Young, Cowper, Wordsworth, Byron.
3. Personal and social cosmopolitanism - The treatment of foreigners by Englishmen at home and abroad - Voltaire and Rousseau in England; Walpole and Sterne in France, etc. - Attitude of England toward immigrants.
4. The problem of literary cosmopolitanism in its relation to the development of national literatures, as viewed by Texte, Posnett, Charles Joret, Edward Rod, Sainte Beuve, Brunetiere and other critics. - The relation of cosmopolitanism to modern internationalism.

* * * *

Appendix B

I. Dictionaries and Lexicons (* Containing the word cosmopolite or a related term)

GREEK

Harper and Bros., Greek-English Lexicon, 1848.

LATIN

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Editus auctoritate et consilio
Academiarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis, Gottingensis
Lipsiensis Monacensis Vindobonensis. V. IV, Fase V, Lipsiae.
1908.

ENGLISH

Samuel Johnson, Dictionary of the English Language, London,
1755.

The Oxford Dictionary (Murray's New English)

The Century Dictionary and Encyclopaedia.

FRENCH

1642 Le Thresor des Trois Langues Espagnole, Françoise, et Italienne,
Cologne.

1650 Dictionnaire François et Italien, Dernière ed. Genève,

1660 Randle Cotgrave, A French and English dictionary ... with another
in English and French, by Robert Sherwood, whereunto are
added sundry animadversions, with supplements...together with a
large grammar ... by James Howell, London.

1694 Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française. Paris.

1700 Pierre Danet, Nouveau dictionnaire françois et latin ... Paris.

*1750 Gilles Ménage, Dictionnaire Etymologique, Paris.

*1759 Dictionnaire des Richelet. Paris.

*1761 A. Antonini, Dictionnaire françois, latin et italien, à Venise.

*1762 Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française. Paris.

*1813 Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française. 5th ed.

*1835 Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, 6th ed.

*1885 M.P.E. Littré, Dictionnaire de la langue française. 4 v.

* n.d Nouveau Larousse.

GERMAN

1711 Johann Roedlein, Europeischer Sprach-Schatz, Leipsig.
Das teutsche, italianische u. französische.

1719 Mattia Kraamers, Das königliche nider-hoch-teutsch u. hoch-
länder-teutsch Dictionarium. Nürnberg.

1729 Benjamin Hederich, Promptuarium latinitatis ... oder....
teutsch-latäinisches Lexicon. Leipsig.

- 1741-2 J.S.Heinsius, Allgemeine Schatzkammer der Kauffmannschaft;
.... Leipsig.
- 1759 Matthias Kramer, Het nieuw neder-hoog-duitsch u. hoog-neder-
duitsch Woordenboek Leipsig.
- 1770 J.A. Weber, Lexici encyclii, pars posterior; das ist,
Deutschlateinisches Universal-wörterbuch.... Dresden.
- 1781 C. W. Kindleben, Studenten-lexicon... Halle.
- *1796 I.J.A. Scheller, Lateinisch-deutsches u. deutsches-lateinisches
handlexicon ... Leipsig.
- *1793-
1801 J. C. Adelung, Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch ... Leipsig.
- *1808 J. H. Campe, Wörterbuch zur erklärang u. verdeutschung der
unserer sprache aufgedrungenen fremden ausdrücke... Gratz.
2 v. in 1.
- *1807-
1811 J. H. Campe, Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache... Braunschweig. 5v.

SPANISH .

- 1826-
1839 R. Academia espanola. Madrid, Dictionario de la lengua castel-
lana. Madrid.
- 1726 John Stevens, A new dictionary, Spanish and English ... London.
- 1791-
1795 A. Sañez Reguart, Diccionario histórieo de los artes de la pesca
nacional ... Madrid. 5 v.
- *1823 Henry Neuman, A new dictionary of the Spanish and English lang-
uages. Philadelphia.

ITALIAN

- 1710 Il Grande Dittionario Italiano et Hollandese... Amsterdam.
- 1729 Vocabolerio degli Academici della Crusca, (Florence) ed.4,
Venezia.
- 1739 Compendio de Vocaboleria degli Academici della Crusca. Venezia.
- 1761 Annibale Antonini, Dizionario italiano, latino e francese. "
- *1830 Vocabolario Universale Italiano. Napoli.
- 1861 Bellini, Nuovo dizionario della lingua Italiana.
- *1878 Gherardini, Vocabolario Milano.
- *1907 Pianigiani, Vocabolario Etimologiee Roma-Milano.

II. Chronological list of works of importance in the history of the cosmopolitan movement.¹

- 1594 Richard Hooker, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, Bk.I, Everyman ed.
- 1598 Hakluyt, Voyages.
- 1618 Edmund Bolton, "Hypercritica," Joseph Haslewood, ed., Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy. London, 1811.
- 1636] Wormius, Sen Danica literatura antiquissima, vulgo Gothica dicta.
1651] Hafniae.
- 1645 James Howell, Epistolae Ho-Eliae. London. 1645. Also Boston, 1907.
- 1670 Robert Sherinham, De Anglorum Gentis Origine Disceptatio Cantabrigiae.
- 1689 Bartholin, Antiquitatem Danicarum ... Hafniae.
- 1692 Sir William Temple, Essays. Works, Edinburgh. 1754.
- 1705 Hickes, Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalum Thausaurus Oxoniae.
- 1711] Joseph Addison, Oriental tales in the Spectator.
1712]
- 1716 John Dryden, tr. Miscellany Poems, containing variety of new translations of the ancient poems Ed. 5, London, 1727.
- 1754 Thomas Warton, Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser. London 1807
- 1755] Henri Mallet, Introduction a l'Histoire de Dannemarc. tr. 1770.
1756]
- 1756 Burke, A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful. Works, v.II, London, 1852.
- 1757 Bishop Hurd, Discourse on Poetical Imitation. London, 1811. Works.
- 1759 Goldsmith, An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe, Works, v.2, London, 1854.
- 1760 Goldsmith, "Reflections on National Prejudices", Brit. Mag. (Aug.1760) p.460. Works, v.3.
- 1760 Goldsmith, The Citizen of the World. Works, v.2.
- 1762 Thomas Percy, Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese. London, 1762
- 1762 Bishop Hurd, Letters on Chivalry and Romance. London, 1811.
- 1763 Thomas Percy, Five Pieces of Runic Poetry tr. from the Icelandic language.
- 1768 Thomas Gray, "The Fatal Sisters" and "The Descent of Odin."
- 1770 Percy, Northern Antiquities, translated from the French of M. Mallet.
- 1774] Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry from the eleventh to the
1778] seventeenth century. A full reprint.. ed. London, 1870.

¹ The date preceding title is that of the first ed.; following, that of the edition consulted in the preparation of this paper.

To supplement this list see the chronological lists compiled by P.M. Bernard, J.C. Bay, M. P. Conant, and F. E. Farley. Appendix B, III

- 1774} Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. Conway, New York, 1902.
1809}
- 1778 Vicosimus Knox, Essays Moral and Literary. 9th ed. 1787.
- 1784} William Beckford, Vathek.
1786}
- 1785 Volney, Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785, (tr. from the French.)
- 1785 Cowper, The Task; Poetical Works, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, n.d.
- 1786 Marmontel, Contes Moraux, Saintsbury ed., London, 1895.
- 1791 William Beckford, Popular Tales of the Germans tr. from the German, London, '791.
- 1792 William Carey, Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens.
- 1795 Kant, Perpetual Peace, tr. M. C. Smith, London, 1915
- 1796 William Taylor, tr. of Bürger's "Lenore", Gentleman's Magazine, March
- 1796 Coleridge, Watchman.
- 1796 Mary Wollstonecraft, Letters written during a Short Tour in Sweden, Norway and Denmark.
- 1799 "Monk" Lewis, Tales of Terror } Reprinted by Henry Morley, London,
1800 " " Tales of Wonder } 1887.
- 1800 Coleridge, tr. Schiller's Wallenstein.
John Wesley, Works, London, 1811.

III. General References.

- Barnard, P. M., A List of Books relating to Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, etc.etc.) Tunbridge Wells. n.d.
- A Catalogue of Books relating to Scandinavia. No.97. Tunbridge Wells. n. d.
- Bastide, C., The Anglo-French Entente in the Seventeenth Century. London-New York, 1914.
- Bay, J. C., Denmark in English and American Literature. A Bibliography. Chicago, 1915.
- Benjamin, L. S. (Lewis Melville) The Life and Letters of William of Beckford of Fonthill. New York, 1910.
- Brunetière, Ferdinand, Discours de Combat, Nouvelle Série. Paris, v. 1, 1911; v.2, 1912.
- Nouveaux Essais sur la Littérature Contemporaine, Paris. n.d.
- Charlante, L'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e Siècle. Paris, 1906.
- Conant, Martha P., The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century. New York, Columbia University Press, 1908.
- Connoisseur, London, 1754.

Conway, M. D., Life of Thomas Paine, New York-London, 1908.
Critical Review, London, 1762.

de Vries, T., Holland's Influence on English Language and Literature.
 Chicago, 1916.

Farley, F. E., Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement.
Harvard Studies and Notes, v.IX. Boston, 1903.

Gentleman's Magazine, London, 1731, 1740, 1750, 1763.

Haney, J. L., The German Influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge.
 Philadelphia, 1902.

Heine, Heinrich, The Romantic School, tr. Fleishman. New York, 1882.

Herford, C. H., Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the sixteenth Century. Cambridge, 1886.

Herzfeld, Georg, William Taylor von Norwich, eine Studie über den Einfluss der neuen Deutschen Litteratur in England. Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft II. Halle, 1897.

Jorst, Charles, La Littérature Allemande au XVIII^{me} Siècle dans ses rapports avec la littérature française et avec la littérature anglaise
 Aix, 1876.

Mead, W. E., The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century. Boston, 1915.
Monthly Review, London, 1749.

More, P. E., The Drift of Romanticism, Shelbourn Essays, Eighth Series.
 Boston-New York, 1913.

Nordby, Conrad Hjalmar, The Influence of Old Norse Literature upon English Literature. Columbia University Germanic Studies, v.I, No.III, 1901.

Phelps, W. L., Selections from the Poetry and Prose of Thomas Gray.
 Boston, 1902.

Pierce, F. E., Currents and Eddies in the English Romantic Generation.
 Yale University Press, New Haven, 1918.

Posuett, H. M., Comparative Literature. New York, 1886.

Revue des Deux Mondes, Series III, v.105 (15 Mai, 1891) Paris.

Robberds, J. W., A Memoir of The Life and Writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich, author of "English Synonyms Discriminated", "An Historic Survey of German Literature" etc.etc. London, 1843.

Rod, Édouard, De la Littérature Comparée. Genève-Paris, 1886.

Rousseau, Oeuvres, 1824.

Scot's Magazine, v.I, 1739.

Stephen, Leslie, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.
 London, 1881.

----- Studies of a Biographer, London, 1899-1902.

Texte, Joseph, Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme Littéraire. Paris, 1895.

Tinker, C. B., The Salon and English Letters. New York, 1915.

Tomkins, D. B., The Individual and Society ... A Thesis. New York Uni. 1914

Tovey, D. C., ed. Gray's English Poems, Cambridge, 1898.

Van Tieghen, P., L'Année Littéraire (1754-1790) Comme Intermédiaire en France des Littératures Etrangères. Paris, 1917.

Vie Internationale (La), Revue mensuelle des idées, des faits et des organismes internationaux. Tome 1^{er} - 1912- Fascicule 1. Office Central des Associations Internationales. Bruxelles.

Waterhouse, Gilbert, The Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Seventeenth Century. Cambridge, 1914.

Wright, Thomas, ed., The Correspondence of William Cowper. New York-London, 1904.

Wylie, Laura J., Social Studies in English, Vassar Semi-Centennial Series, 1916.

*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA



3 0112 082200095